

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 071 959

24

SO 005 182

AUTHOR Sears, David O.
TITLE Development of Concepts of Political Conflict and Power by 5th and 8th Graders. Final Report.
INSTITUTION California Univ., Los Angeles. Dept. of Psychology.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO BR-9-0444
PUB DATE 1 Aug 72
GRANT OEG-9-9-140444-0058
NOTE 48p.

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Behavioral Science Research; *Concept Formation; Conflict; Grade 5; Grade 8; *Minority Group Children; *Political Attitudes; Political Power; *Political Socialization; Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

This research investigated pre-adolescent children's concepts of political conflict and power, and the processes by which these are acquired. It focused particularly upon the acquisition of such attitudes by Black and Mexican-American children, minority groups currently involved in deep social and political conflicts. The data were obtained with a written questionnaire administered to 946 fifth and eighth graders in Fresno, California. The main categories of predictor variables included were: demographic, personality, attitudes about interpersonal relationships, cognitive biases, political involvement, and political sophistication. The main dependent variables were attitudes toward political conflict, civil liberties, interest groups, political partisanship, racial and ethnic groups, and attachment to the nation and political authority. From partial results of this report, it appears that a majority of the children have acquired coherent attitudes concerning political conflict and power by the onset of adolescence. (FDI)

BR 9-0444
PA 24

ED 071959

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 9-0444

Grant No. OEG-9-9-140444-0058

DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL
CONFLICT AND POWER BY 5TH AND 8TH
GRADERS

David O. Sears
Department of Psychology
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

August 1, 1972

581500 \$

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND
WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIG-
INATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPIN-
IONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY
REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 9-0444

Grant Number OEG 9-9-140444-0058

DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL
CONFLICT AND POWER BY 5TH AND 8TH
GRADERS

David O. Sears
Department of Psychology
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

August 1, 1972

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinion stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION,
AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

Contents

Title page	1
Contents	2
Acknowledgments	3
Summary	4
Introduction	5
Method	6-8
Results	8-14
Research papers related to project	14
References	15
Appendix A: Questionnaire	Enclosed

Acknowledgments

The main burden of conducting the research and analyzing data has been carried by Helene Smookler, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, and by Gail Lemerman Zellman, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Psychology. They are currently associated with the University of North Carolina and Michigan State University, respectively. Tom Smith, currently a graduate student in Psychology, also played a vital role in the data collection and analysis. Other graduate students who made important contributions were Michael Sam Vargas (now at the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University), Patrick Breslin (Political Science Department, UCLA), Jerry Brown (School of Education, Indiana University), and Marvin Eisen, (Psychology Dept., Ohio State University).

The project was originally planned in collaboration with Joan E. Laurence, whose ideas permeate the project throughout. The research was conducted as part of the program of the UCLA Committee on Civic Education. Many thanks are due to Charles Quigley and to Richard P. Longaker for their indispensable assistance.

Finally, our greatest appreciation is reserved for the students and teachers of the Fresno City Unified School District, who gave so willingly of their time and cooperation. W. Hampton Sawyers, Social Science Coordinator for the District, made the time-consuming and careful arrangements that were vital to the project's completion.

Summary

This research investigated pre-adolescent children's concepts of political conflict and power, and the processes by which these are acquired. It focused particularly upon the acquisition of such attitudes by black and Mexican-American children--minority groups currently involved in deep social and political conflicts.

The data were obtained with a written questionnaire administered to 946 6th and 8th graders in Fresno, California, in February, 1971. The sample was 41% Anglo, 28% black, and 25% Mexican-American. The main categories of predictor variables included in the questionnaire were: demographic, personality, attitudes about interpersonal relationships, cognitive biases, political involvement, and political sophistication. The main dependent variables were attitudes toward political conflict, civil liberties, interest groups, political partisanship, racial and ethnic groups, and attachment to the nation and political authority.

Partial results are reported on political conflict and on civil liberties. In both cases, a majority of the children appear to have acquired coherent attitudes by the onset of adolescence. The main predictors in each case involve some measure of social maturation (e.g., age, political knowledge, etc.), and some generalization from social and political attitudes acquired earlier in life--particularly more basic attitudes toward interpersonal relationships and attitudes toward outgroups. Preliminary evidence indicates that the school's deliberate attempts to socialize more sophisticated attitudes toward conflict were ineffective. Moreover, few children evidently could apply abstract principles to specific situations. It must be emphasized, however, that these are only preliminary and fragmentary results, and may be qualified with further analysis. Other analyses are in progress on: (1) political partisanship, (2) political socialization of Mexican-American children, (3) positivity biases, and (4) sex-typing in political socialization.

Introduction

Previous research on political socialization of American children has emphasized the development of partisanship, especially party identification (Hyman, 1959), and attachment to the political system (Easton and Dennis, 1969; Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). One major goal of the present research (and of an earlier pilot project; cf. Laurence, 1970; Zellman and Sears, 1971) was to investigate the acquisition of attitudes toward political and social conflict. Such attitudes were measured both in the general case (e.g., how do children feel about the existence, and free expression, of arguments within government), and in a variety of more specific manifestations--attitudes toward dissenters' freedom of speech, collective action by interest groups, partisan conflict, and racial conflict. That is, our research is focused not upon consensus nor upon narrowly defined partisan conflict, but upon political socialization regarding a much wider range of political and social conflicts.

A second major goal of the research was to study the processes by which such attitudes were acquired. Here we focused upon the contributions of demographic and personality variables, of attitudes toward interpersonal relationships in general, and of an experimental civics curriculum in school.

Finally, we were particularly interested in investigating the political socialization of minority children. There is a growing empirical literature on this subject, but the data have not heretofore shown substantial racial differences (Greenberg, 1970; Laurence, 1970). We suspected, however, that data collected more recently would begin to show the same evidence of racial polarization in children's attitudes that we have noted among adults (Sears and Kinder, 1972; Sears and McConahay, in press). Assuming this to be true, we wished also to investigate the political socialization of Mexican-American children, as a group much less in the limelight in recent years, but increasingly activist and militant in some areas.

Method

The basic plan of the study called for administering a questionnaire to several hundred children, and an interview to a substantially smaller subsample of children. In both cases half the children were to be in an experimental group that had been exposed to an experimental curriculum unit on political conflict, and half in a control group that had had no such exposure.

Questionnaire development.

A pilot questionnaire had previously been used with a sample of 5th, 6th, and 8th grade children (n=1384) in Sacramento, in April and June, 1968. This questionnaire was, however, much too long for our purposes (it had approximately 350 items and had to be administered over several days) and the questions were in need of considerable refinement.

Under the current project, this pilot instrument was refined according to the following procedure: in-depth interviews were conducted with a number of children on the main areas we wished to cover. In addition, statistical analyses were carried out on the Sacramento pilot data, mainly checking for consistency and redundancy. New items were then constructed, and the original items were either simplified or deleted. Then this revised version was tested in a middle class white classroom, and a lower status, racially mixed classroom. As well as responding as usual to the questions, the children made extensive comments, circled items they did not understand, etc. The questionnaire was then again revised and submitted for clearance to the school authorities in Fresno, California, and to the U.S. Office of Education.

Officials of the Fresno City Unified School District were most cooperative, and made the following recommendations before approving the instrument: (1) shorten the instrument so that it could be given in one class period; (2) include items dealing directly with Mexican-Americans and their problems; (3) avoid leading the student to "negative attitudes"; and (4) avoid direct questions about the students' and parents' own political involvements. The first two were readily complied with. The third was done in part (e.g., eliminating the phrase "hate America") but for methodological reasons could not be implemented entirely; and questions about parents' attitudes were made optional and none were asked about the parents' behavior.

Officials at the U.S. Office of Education recommended specific changes in about 69 of the 209 items (i.e., in about 33% of the schedule). These suggested changes resulted from three types of concerns: political sensitivity, planting negative ideas, and editorial considerations. (1) some items (about 13) were considered too politically sensitive, especially those dealing with the Vietnam War and racial conflicts. The recommendations varied from deleting the item or making it optional for the respondent to changing the wording (e.g., changing a freedom-of-speech item from one concerning a "man who hates America" to one concerning "a Communist"). These suggestions were

followed, since approval of the schedule was made contingent upon them. (2) on 27 items, changes were recommended in order to avoid "planting negative ideas." This constituted approximately 13% of the inventory. The recommendations again varied; sometimes the question was to be reworded, to make it "positive" rather than "negative;" sometimes the order of response alternatives was to be changed, so that "positive" alternatives would precede "negative" alternatives; and occasionally it was recommended that the most "negative" response alternative be deleted. These suggestions were generally not followed, on the grounds that methodological rigor demanded rotation of response alternatives and balancing of "positively" and "negatively" worded questions. Even so, the positive wordings outnumbered negative wordings by about two to one. (3) editorial suggestions were made on 29 other items, mostly in terms of clarity of wording, simplicity of terminology, etc. These helpful suggestions were discussed with the project staff, and many of the items were thus improved.

The questionnaire that resulted (209 items) was administered to 946 children in selected classes in 6th and 8th grades of the Fresno public schools on February 2-4, 1971. It is given in Appendix A. It was administered by graduate students at UCLA who were affiliated with the project, in order to avoid the biases commonly introduced into such research when teachers administer questionnaires to their own pupils.

Sample characteristics:

51% boys, 49% girls

6% aged 9, 10; 21% aged 11; 18% aged 12; 30% aged 13; 19% aged 14; 4% aged 15 and over.

25% Mexican-American, 28% black, 41% Anglo, 1% Oriental, 5% unclassified or other.

46% had employed mothers, and 10% lived in apartments.

The schools were severely racially imbalanced. 81% of the whites were in essentially all-white schools; 98% of the blacks and 85% of the Mexican-Americans, and the remaining 19% of the whites were in predominantly minority schools.

The completion rate was 82%, which seems quite good in view of the length of the schedule, and the fact that it had to be administered within a single class period. All but 4% completed at least half the inventory, and 90% completed at least 80% of the items.

Experimental curriculum.

Half the children were in classes using an experimental curriculum on political conflict. This was part of a broader program of the Committee on Civic Education. This program included the following elements: (1) regular weekly sessions for approximately two months for the teachers, which included discussions of important historical cases, films, lectures by political scientists, etc. (2) classroom

use of the book Voices for Justice (Quigley and Longaker, 1970) and accompanying role-playing techniques. These materials were used on the average (median) of 2.5 weeks in the classes designated as the experimental group. The control group consisted of classes matched for school and grade level. The questionnaire was administered shortly after the completion of this experimental program.

The interview.

The interview was originally conceived of, and designed, from a sense of dissatisfaction with the questionnaire data on which most of the political socialization literature is based (cf. Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis, 1969; Zellman and Sears, 1971). It had two goals: (1) to explore the informational and conceptual depth of children's thinking on a limited number of topics more comprehensively than is possible from closed-ended questionnaire items; (2) to pursue the original sources of children's attitudes directly, by probing extensively on the sources of their attitudes toward the most salient and vivid issues of the day. Most previous work has had to infer these sources on the basis of rather indirect statistical inference from questionnaire items. For both reasons the interview was to focus upon issues children would be likely to have the most information about, and this inevitably led to the most controversial issues, because they had been most in the media. Thus the interview mainly consisted of extensive probes on children's attitudes toward the Indochinese war and freedom of dissent.

The interview schedule was extensively pretested, shortened and simplified, then tested again. The schedule then appeared to be appropriate to the interview's objectives. It was originally intended to be administered to a sample of 100 children who earlier had taken the questionnaire, so responses from the two schedules could be compared.

However, the interview was never used. There were two main reasons for this: (1) the process of obtaining approval for the questionnaire from the school district and from the federal government proved to be a lengthy one, lasting about six months from start to finish, and requiring several rather extensive revisions of the questionnaire. Time constraints prevented our going through the same process with the interview, (especially since we anticipated the process of obtaining approval would be even more difficult with the interview, because it dealt more extensively with controversial issues). (2) the financial difficulties of the UCLA Computing Facility vastly raised the cost of computer analysis of the questionnaire, so the money allocated for the interview had to be reserved for data analysis.

Results

The data.

Most of the data from the questionnaire were grouped into the categories listed below. We attempted to form Likert scales of the several relevant items in each category, and in most cases these attempts met with success.

Predictor variables.

1. Demographic and family: race, age, sex, ordinal position, broken homes, working mother, interracial contact.
2. Personality: self-esteem (re convergent thinking, divergent thinking, and social relationships), internal-external control.
3. Attitudes about non-political interpersonal relationships: inevitability of conflict, desirability of conflict, submission to authority, trust of people.
4. Cognitive biases: negativity, positivity, personalizing.
5. Political involvement and sophistication: political participation, political knowledge, media exposure.

Outcome attitudes.

6. Political conflict in general: inevitability, desirability, desirability of its free expression.
7. Political conflict in specific manifestations:
 - a. Civil liberties: in the abstract, principles, application to concrete situations.
 - b. Interest groups: relative efficacy of individual vs. collective action.
 - c. Political parties: personal partisanship (party identification, approval of major leaders of each party, economic liberalism-conservatism), importance of partisan affiliation, desirability of partisan conflict.
8. Racial conflict: perceived discrimination against blacks, sympathy with militant action by blacks and/or Mexican-Americans, racial stereotyping.
9. Attachment to nation and political authority: chauvinism, support for American war policy, affection for American government and people, trust of police.

Data analyses have been completed or are in progress in a number of areas.

(1) The experimental curriculum.

The experimental curriculum evidently had no significant effect, at least not on the dimensions measured in our questionnaire. The experimental and control groups differed significantly ($p < .05$) on 2 of the 48 key items on scales listed above (i.e., on 4%), and 13 of the individual items in the entire questionnaire (i.e., on 6%). Neither indicates a departure from what might be expected from chance.

Although discouraging, this finding does not seem crippling to our overall analysis, since, as indicated in the original proposal, the role of the experimental curriculum was seen as secondary to the broader goal of understanding political socialization as it occurs in the absence of unusual intervention in the schools. Moreover, it should be noted that the curriculum was used for only a relatively brief time in most experimental classrooms, and thus was not given a full chance to succeed.

We have had no further plans for analysis in this area.

(2) Political conflict in general.

Attitudes toward the inevitability, desirability, and free expression of political conflict in general were measured with 21 items, of which 15 were ultimately used in three relevant composite scales.

There was good evidence that a majority of the children had already formed sufficiently coherent attitudes toward political conflict to justify further analysis of their origins. To be sure, a large minority had no opinion on the conflict items (the percent "not sure" or "don't know" varied, generally from 25% to 45%), but within each of these dimensions, the children's opinions were surprisingly consistent. The correlation of individual items with scale scores for the conflict-inevitability scale ranged from .56 to .63 across four items; for conflict-desirability, from .51 to .61 across four items; and for free expression of conflict, from .44 to .70 across seven items (averaging .60).

The marginal distributions of opinion indicated a fairly solid consensus that political conflict of one kind or another is inevitable; e.g., 66% agreed there will always be arguments between people in government, 74% disagreed that government can make laws everyone will like. Yet few children felt this conflict was desirable. Only about 10% to 20%, across a number of items, felt that arguments in government facilitate rational decision-making, or that partisan conflict serves a useful purpose. And the sample was deeply split on the desirability of permitting free expression of political conflict. A slight plurality (38% to 33%) felt it is all right to say bad things about laws, or (44% to 26%) that it was all right to criticize a President after he is elected, but actually resisted (25% to 30%) saying bad things about "people we vote for."

Older, white, more knowledgeable children tended most to believe in the inevitability, desirability, and free expression of political conflict. Children also seemed to generalize from the relevant attitudes toward interpersonal relations in general. That is, children thinking interpersonal conflict is inevitable also tended to think political conflicts are; those thinking interpersonal conflict acceptable also, thought that political conflict is not wholly undesirable; and those who opposed ritualistic submission to non-political authorities (e.g., parents, teachers, etc.) tended also to support the open expression of political criticism and disagreement. However, the desirability of political conflict was related to neither of these other two dimensions. Inevitability and free expression were quite closely related. (τ -beta = .20).

These data suggest three general sources of attitudes toward political conflict: some generalized degree of political maturation (as reflected in the older and more knowledgeable children's greater acceptance of conflict); some degree of greater socialization of notions of political conflict in upper status homes and schools, and

among the white majority (cf. Litt, 1963); and some generalization from basic attitudes toward interpersonal relationships, particularly toward arguments, fights, and toward submission to the edicts of authorities.

Plans for further analysis of data in this area are indefinite.

(3) Civil liberties: freedom of speech.

Cases involving civil liberties represent an important concrete manifestation of these general issues of political conflict. For example, to what extent shall deviants or dissenters be allowed to express freely their unpopular views, and thereby increase open political conflict?

In an article based on the data collected earlier in Sacramento, we (Zellman and Sears, 1971) reached three basic conclusions: (1) pre-adolescent children strongly endorsed the generalized slogan of "free speech for all, no matter what their views might be", but were largely unwilling to extend this right to dissenters in concrete instances; (2) the slogan and the concrete applications were acquired independently of each other; indeed, the slogan appeared to be socialized as a "mainstream" American political belief, but it was not apparent that any systematic socialization occurred at all of concrete applications; (3) the main contributors to tolerance in concrete situations were: a) liking for the dissenting group in question, b) divergent thinking self-esteem, and c) intention to attend college. Few children evidently generalized from the abstract principle of free speech to concrete instances of it.

In most respects the data collected in Fresno supported this pattern:

(1) Support for the abstract principle again far outstripped tolerance in concrete situations; (2) the "mainstream" children again were the strongest boosters of the abstract slogan of free speech, but not of civil liberties in concrete situations (i.e., age, IQ, political knowledge, and media exposure were positively related to support for the abstract slogan, but not to a scale measuring support for its extension to communists' civil liberties in various situations); (3) attitudes toward both political and nonpolitical conflict, indexed by five new scales, were related only haphazardly to either abstract or concrete versions of free speech; (4) attitudes toward the dissenting group in question (communism) accounted for tolerance in concrete situations much better than did the abstract slogan, and even more so than in the Sacramento data. All these findings represent strong confirmation of our earlier findings, in another sample at a different historical moment.

Two points represent some departure. A scale measuring political chauvinism (or attachment to the American government) was significantly ($p .05$) related to intolerance for concrete extensions of civil liberties, contrary to the earlier results. So were several items on American war policy not used before (i.e., children unwilling to

fight in a "bad" war, favoring American withdrawal from Vietnam, feeling that not all American wars had been "good" wars, or feeling that it is all right for a man to criticize the President's Vietnam policy on TV were significantly more likely to support concrete extensions of civil liberties). By 1971, conflicts over the Indochina war may thus have had the unfortunate side effect of associating loyalty to the nation with intolerance for dissent. This had not been true of children in 1968.

Also, the earlier relationship between self-esteem and tolerance was not found in the Fresno data. Instead, the relationships with convergent and divergent thinking self-esteem were mixed, and non-significant. Blacks were generally somewhat more tolerant than whites. We attempted to relate this finding to the celebrated case of Angela Davis, the black self-professed communist who had recently been fired from UCLA. However, black children's highly favorable attitudes toward Angela Davis were totally unrelated to their considerable support for concrete civil liberties (regardless of how they felt about communism). They seem to have responded to her mainly as a black, so their attitudes toward her were unrelated to their attitudes toward communism or civil liberties. On the other hand, white children's antagonism toward Angela Davis was closely related to intolerance for concrete civil liberties, even with attitude toward communism controlled. They appeared to respond to Angela Davis as a communist; thus their attitude toward communism determined their support for her, just as it had determined their tolerance for concrete civil liberties.

Overall, our analysis suggests that tolerance for dissent depends to a major degree upon tolerant or favorable attitudes toward the outgroup in question, rather than extension of the general principle of free speech. This tolerance may additionally be facilitated by such psychological and sociological variables as self-esteem, IQ, and contact with outgroups, but these do not seem to be sufficiently powerful to overcome antagonism toward the dissenters in question. And teaching of democratic slogans to pre-adolescents does not frequently result in their application in concrete cases.

Our publication of these data is complete with the Zellman and Sears (1971) paper.

(4) Political partisanship.

Perhaps the most widely accepted findings in the area of political socialization concern the early acquisition of party identification in American children (cf. Greenstein, 1965; Hyman, 1959; Sears, 1969). However, previous research has not established the strength or durability of these youthful attitudes. Hence we are currently analyzing our data to determine how many children actually have stable identification with a political party, to determine more precisely the informational basis for such identifications, and their consistency with evaluations of party leaders and partisan issue positions. Our preliminary findings indicate that the previous literature has considerably overestimated the extent and power of pre-adolescent

acquisition of party identification.

This research will result in a paper written in collaboration with Tom Smith.

(5) Political socialization of Mexican-American children.

The distinctive political attitudes of Mexican-American children have been analyzed in two preliminary papers by Smookler (1971) and Sam Vargas (1972) on the basis of data collected in Fresno. Smookler concludes, "They appear to be angry, chauvinistic and undemocratic." Sam Vargas reviewed the differences between children who label themselves as "chicano" and those who label themselves as "Mexican-American." He found greater identification with the Chicano movement's ideology, and greater social and racial awareness, among Chicano-labelled children.

We are currently analyzing in much more detail the attitudes of Mexican-American children. Our current plan is to prepare a scholarly paper that (1) presents in detail the differences between their attitudes and those held by black and Anglo children, and (2) tests a number of hypotheses about the causes of these differences, particularly focusing on family structure, relationships to authority, religiosity, self-esteem, and sex-typing. This will be done in collaboration with Smookler, Zellman, and Sam Vargas.

(6) Socialization of positivity biases.

It has been observed that adult Americans' political evaluations are biased toward the positive rather than the negative (Sears, 1969; Sears and Whitney, 1972). Analyses were done with our data to determine the correlates of positive evaluations of public leaders, above and beyond the contributions made by partisan preferences. These were presented in a draft manuscript by Sears. The conclusion was as follows:

Among children, greater positivity biases in political evaluations were associated with three main sets of dispositions: (1) attitudes toward non-political interpersonal relationships: specifically, greater trust of people in general, support for non-political authority, and distaste for interpersonal conflict; (2) system support: greater chauvinism about the American government, and approval of the police; and (3) ignorance: younger and less-politically informed children manifested most positivity. However, it was unrelated to IQ and media exposure levels. It was also largely unrelated to indexes of personality dispositions (e.g., self-esteem, fate control, sex, and ordinal position) and attitudes toward political conflict (e.g., regarding its desirability, or support for civil liberties in concrete situations).

(7) Sex-typing and early political socialization.

Zellman (1972), in reviewing the literature on political attitudes of American adults, reports major differences between the sexes in several areas: tolerance for dissent, approval of war, approval of political violence, support for the police, approval of political conflict, and politicization.

Her dissertation will involve an analysis of the childhood origins of these adult sex differences. Her plan is a) to select attitudes on these matters that yield adult differences, b) determine whether or not these matters evoke reasonably stable and consistent attitudes in preadolescent children, c) determine whether or not sex differentiates children as well as adults on these matters, and d) determine whether or not sex-role identification is the key mediating variable in producing these sex differences.

Research Papers Related to Project

- Sam Vargas, Michael. Age and ethnic conscienceness as determinants of social and political awareness of Mexican American children. Unpublished manuscript, 1972.
- Sears, David O. Positivity biases in political evaluation. Unpublished manuscript, prepared for American Political Science Association convention, September, 1971.
- Sears, David O., and Tom Smith. Early socialization of party identification: a skeptical re-evaluation. Manuscript in preparation, 1972.
- Smookler, Helene. War, police, law and democracy: how children view the issues and the nation. Unpublished manuscript, 1971.
- Zellman, Gail. Sex differences in political socialization. Unpublished doctoral dissertation proposal, 1972.
- Zellman, Gail, and David O. Sears. Childhood origins of tolerance for dissent. *Journal of social issues*, 1971, 27 (2), 109-136.
- Zellman, Gail, Helene Smookler, David O. Sears, and Michael Sam Vargas. Political socialization of Mexican-American children. Manuscript in preparation.

References

- Easton, D., and Dennis, J. Children in the political system: origins of political legitimacy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969.
- Greenberg, E.S., Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines. Midwest Journal of Political Science, 1970, 14 (2), 249-275.
- Greenstein, F.I. Children and politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Hess, R.D., & Torney, Judith V. The development of political attitudes in children. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.
- Hyman, H. Political Socialization. Glencoe: Free Press, 1959.
- Laurence, J., White Socialization: Black Reality, Psychiatry, 1970, 33 (2), 174-194.
- Litt, E. Civic education, community norms, and political indoctrination. American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 69-75.
- Quigley, C.N., and Longaker, R.P. Voices for justice. Boston: Ginn, 1970.
- Sears, D. O. Political behavior. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 5, (Rev. Edition) Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969. pp. 315-458.
- Sears, D.O., & Kinder, D.R.: Racial Tensions and Voting in Los Angeles. In Werner Z. Hirsch (ed.), Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for Metropolitan Leadership. New York: Praeger, 1971, pp. 51-88.
- Sears, David O., and J. B. McConahay. The politics of violence. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973.
- Sears, D.O. and Whitney, R.E. Political persuasion. In I. deS. Pool, et. al. (Eds.), Handbook of Communication. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1972.
- Zellman, G.L. and Sears, D.O. Childhood origins of tolerance for dissent. Journal of Social Issues, 1971, 27, 109-136.

Class Number _____

UCLA - OPINION STUDY - 1971

Some professors at UCLA are doing a study of 3,000 elementary and junior high school students in California. We are interested in how you feel about a number of things. This is not a test. For most of the questions, there are no right or wrong answers.

No one in this school will see any of your answers. Nothing will be put into your school records.

We do not want to have anyone's name, but we do need to be able to identify the questionnaires without using names. Please fill in the following spaces so that we can keep track of the questionnaires without using names.

YOUR BIRTHDAY: MONTH _____ DAY _____

THE NUMBER OF YOUR HOUSE _____

Answer the questions as carefully and honestly as you can. Draw a circle around any words you do not know.

Do not pay attention to the numbers in front of the answers. They are only for the IBM machine.

Mark only one answer for each question unless the question says to choose as many answers as you want.

Work carefully but quickly. Don't spend too much time on any one question. Remember, this is not a test.

After you have answered all the questions please check to see that you answered the questions on every page. Then raise your hand, and your questionnaire will be collected. All the questionnaires for your class will be taken directly to UCLA. Your teacher will not read them.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP!

1. PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY AND MARK THE ONE ANSWER THAT BEST APPLIES TO YOU.

1. Are you a:

- (1) ☐ Boy?
(2) ☐ Girl?

2. Think about your three best friends. Which is true?

- (1) ☐ All three are boys
(2) ☐ Some are girls and some are boys
(3) ☐ All three are girls

3. How old were you on your last birthday?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (1) ☐ 7 years | (6) ☐ 12 years |
| (2) ☐ 8 years | (7) ☐ 13 years |
| (3) ☐ 9 years | (10) ☐ 14 years |
| (4) ☐ 10 years | (11) ☐ 15 years |
| (5) ☐ 11 years | (12) ☐ 16 years or over |

4. Do you have any sisters or brothers who are older than you?

- (1) ☐ No
(2) ☐ Yes

5. Have you ever lived in another part of California for more than one year?

- (1) ☐ No
(2) ☐ Yes, I have lived in the San Francisco Bay area
(3) ☐ Yes, I have lived in the Los Angeles area
(4) ☐ Yes, I have lived in another part of California

6. How many years have you lived in California?

- | | |
|--|--|
| (14) ☐ All my life | (06) ☐ about 6 years |
| (01) ☐ 1 year or less | (07) ☐ about 7 years |
| (02) ☐ about 2 years | (10) ☐ about 8 years |
| (03) ☐ about 3 years | (11) ☐ about 9 years |
| (04) ☐ about 4 years | (12) ☐ about 10 years |
| (05) ☐ about 5 years | (13) ☐ 11 years or longer |

7. Who do you live with?

- (1) ☐ My mother and father
- (2) ☐ My mother only
- (3) ☐ My father only
- (4) ☐ Someone else (like grandmother, aunt and uncle, stepfather, etc.)

8. (optional) Your family is:

- (1) ☐ Catholic
- (2) ☐ Jewish
- (3) ☐ Protestant (Christian)
- (4) ☐ None
- (5) ☐ Other _____
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (0) ☐ I prefer not to answer this question

9. How often do you go to Mass, Church, Temple, or Sunday School?

- (1) ☐ Never
- (2) ☐ A few times a year
- (3) ☐ Once or twice a month
- (4) ☐ Almost every week
- (5) ☐ Every week or more than once a week
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

10. Are you:

- (1) ☐ Mexican-American?
- (2) ☐ Negro?
- (3) ☐ Oriental?
- (4) ☐ White?
- (5) ☐ Indian?
- (6) ☐ Other _____

11. How far did your father go in school? (Mark only one)

- (1) ☐ Less than high school
- (2) ☐ Some high school
- (3) ☐ Finished high school
- (4) ☐ Some college
- (5) ☐ Finished college
- (8) ☐ I don't know

12. How far did your mother go in school? (Mark only one)

- (1) ☐ Less than high school
- (2) ☐ Some high school
- (3) ☐ Finished high school
- (4) ☐ Some college
- (5) ☐ Finished college
- (8) ☐ I don't know

13. Does your mother have a job besides taking care of the house and children?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (2) ☐ No
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

14. Do you live in a house or an apartment?

- (1) ☐ We live in a house
- (2) ☐ We live in an apartment
- (8) ☐ I don't know

15. (optional) Does your father belong to one of these parties?

- (1) ☐ Democrat
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Sometimes Republican and sometimes Democratic
- (4) ☐ Independent
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (5) ☐ I don't know what political parties are
- (0) ☐ I prefer not to answer this question

16. (optional) Does your mother belong to one of these parties?

- (1) ☐ Democrat
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Sometimes Republican and sometimes Democratic
- (4) ☐ Independent
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (5) ☐ I don't know what political parties are
- (0) ☐ I prefer not to answer this question

17. In what state were you born? Find the state and make an X by it.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (2) ☐ Alabama | (23) ☐ Maine | (42) ☐ Oregon |
| (3) ☐ Alaska | (24) ☐ Maryland | (43) ☐ Pennsylvania |
| (4) ☐ Arizona | (25) ☐ Massachusetts | (44) ☐ Rhode Island |
| (5) ☐ Arkansas | (26) ☐ Michigan | (45) ☐ South Carolina |
| (6) ☐ California | (27) ☐ Minnesota | (46) ☐ South Dakota |
| (7) ☐ Colorado | (28) ☐ Mississippi | (47) ☐ Tennessee |
| (10) ☐ Connecticut | (29) ☐ Missouri | (48) ☐ Texas |
| (11) ☐ Delaware | (30) ☐ Montana | (49) ☐ Utah |
| (12) ☐ District of Columbia | (31) ☐ Nebraska | (50) ☐ Vermont |
| (13) ☐ Florida | (32) ☐ Nevada | (51) ☐ Virginia |
| (14) ☐ Georgia | (33) ☐ New Hampshire | (52) ☐ Washington |
| (15) ☐ Hawaii | (34) ☐ New Jersey | (53) ☐ West Virginia |
| (16) ☐ Idaho | (35) ☐ New Mexico | (54) ☐ Wisconsin |
| (17) ☐ Illinois | (36) ☐ New York | (55) ☐ Wyoming |
| (18) ☐ Indiana | (37) ☐ North Carolina | (56) ☐ I was born in a |
| (19) ☐ Iowa | (38) ☐ North Dakota | foreign country |
| (20) ☐ Kansas | (39) ☐ Ohio | (8) ☐ I'm not sure |
| (21) ☐ Kentucky | | where I was born |
| (22) ☐ Louisiana | (41) ☐ Oklahoma | |

II. FOR THESE QUESTIONS, READ EACH SENTENCE AND THEN ANSWER THE QUESTION: COMPARED WITH OTHER GIRLS AND BOYS MY AGE, HOW DO I RATE NOW? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION)

18. Learning things rapidly.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
 (2) ☐ Okay
 (3) ☐ Better than most
 (4) ☐ Very good
 (5) ☐ Excellent

19. Remembering what I've learned.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
 (2) ☐ Okay
 (3) ☐ Better than most
 (4) ☐ Very good
 (5) ☐ Excellent

20. Being a good student.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
 (2) ☐ Okay
 (3) ☐ Better than most
 (4) ☐ Very good
 (5) ☐ Excellent

21. Having brains.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

22. Being smart.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

23. Knowing what to do to get the right answer to a problem.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

24. Having new and original ideas.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

25. Letting my imagination go when I want it to.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

26. Studying about things on my own.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

27. Seeing new ways of thinking about things and putting ideas together.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

28. Interested in new things, excited about all there is to learn.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

29. Making friends easily.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

30. Being a leader--the one to get things started.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

31. Having plenty of friends.

- (1) ☐ Not so good
- (2) ☐ Okay
- (3) ☐ Better than most
- (4) ☐ Very good
- (5) ☐ Excellent

III. PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS. MARK THE ONE ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION THAT BEST SHOWS HOW YOU FEEL.

32. Which do you think is true of the United States? (choose one)

- (1) ☐ Everyone has an equal chance to be rich if they work hard.
- (2) ☐ No matter how hard some people work they will never be rich.
- (3) ☐ I'm not sure

33. If your mother wanted you to do something that you don't want to do, what would happen?
- (1) ☐ I wouldn't do it
 - (2) ☐ I would refuse to do it, but my mother would make me
 - (3) ☐ I would complain a little, but do it anyway
 - (4) ☐ I would do it without complaining
34. Which do you think is true about most arguments between parents and their children?
- (1) ☐ They make things worse
 - (2) ☐ They don't change things
 - (3) ☐ They make things better
35. People in our government would do better if they didn't argue so much.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (3) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
36. Think about the other students in this class. What party do you think most of them like the most?
- (1) ☐ Democratic
 - (2) ☐ Republican
 - (3) ☐ Sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic
 - (6) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (4) ☐ I don't know what Republican and Democratic mean
37. Planning things just makes you unhappy because many things turn out to be a matter of luck anyhow.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
38. We should not let Communists vote, even though they are citizens.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree

39. What does complaining about the government do? (choose one)

- (1) ☐ Helps find mistakes so the people in government can do things better
- (2) ☐ Wastes time
- (3) ☐ Confuses the people in government so almost nothing gets done
- (4) ☐ Makes people mad at each other
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

40. When I plan something,

- (1) ☐ I'm often not sure it will work out because so much depends on luck.
- (2) ☐ I'm pretty sure I can make it work out no matter what.

41. Which is a better way of explaining why many Negroes don't do well in life?

- (1) ☐ They have only themselves to blame.
- (2) ☐ People won't let them get ahead
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

42. There always will be arguments about how the government should do things.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

43. Do you think that the government can make laws that everybody likes?

- (1) ☐ No
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ Yes

44. Should a Communist be allowed to teach arithmetic in this school?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No
- (3) ☐ I don't know what a Communist is

45. "Black Power" is a good idea.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree
- (3) ☐ I don't know what "Black Power" is

46. Think for a minute about your two closest friends.
- (1) ☐ Both of them are white
 - (2) ☐ Both of them are Mexican-Americans
 - (3) ☐ Both of them are Negro
 - (4) ☐ They are different races
47. Could you be friends with a person who is a Communist?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ No
48. Negroes should have a right to live wherever they want, as long as they can afford it.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
49. You should not say bad things about the laws of our country.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
50. When we have elections, the votes of important people should count more than the votes of average people.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
51. I believe in free speech for everyone, no matter what they think.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
52. If you were a boy and the right age to go into the Army, would you be willing to fight in a war you thought was a bad war?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I don't know
 - (2) ☐ No

53. Do Negroes have too little to say in how the government is run?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I don't know
- (2) ☐ No

54. Do you think that the President wants to help rich people more than poor people?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

55. Which is true about arguments between friends?

- (1) ☐ They are bad and should always be avoided.
- (2) ☐ Sometimes they happen but it is better not to have them.
- (3) ☐ Friends often have arguments and they are nothing to worry about.

56. If you were going to vote and weren't sure who to vote for, which of these would be best for helping you make up your mind?

- (1) ☐ What your friends say
- (2) ☐ What your political party says
- (3) ☐ What your mother or father says
- (4) ☐ What your teacher says
- (5) ☐ What magazines, newspapers, and television say
- (6) ☐ I would not vote

57. What does it take to get the government to do what is best for people?

- (1) ☐ The government will do what is best without people saying anything.
- (2) ☐ People have to write letters to the government.
- (3) ☐ People have to make speeches and march.

58. A person accused of a crime should not have the same rights the ordinary citizen does.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

59. It is okay for people to try to get their friends to vote for the same people they do.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

60. After a man has lost an election, should he support all the things the winner does?

- (1) ☐ He should support the things the winner does.
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ He should point out the things he doesn't like.

61. Suppose some people who hate smog want the government to help get rid of smog. What's the best thing for them to do?

- (1) ☐ Write letters to the President and to the Congressmen
- (2) ☐ Join a group that would work for getting rid of the smog
- (3) ☐ Hire a person to talk to people in the government and tell them what they want the government to do
- (4) ☐ Vote for people who think like they do
- (8) ☐ I don't know

62. What word do you use to describe yourself?

- (1) ☐ Colored
- (2) ☐ Negro
- (3) ☐ Afro-American
- (4) ☐ Black
- (5) ☐ Mexican-American
- (6) ☐ Chicano
- (7) ☐ White
- (10) ☐ Oriental
- (11) ☐ Indian
- (12) ☐ Other

63. Do you think most leaders in government would do something they thought was needed even if people didn't want it?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

64. If a large group of people think a law is unfair, should they still obey it?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

65. How do most white people feel about Negro people?

- (1) ☐ They want to see Negro people have more than they do now.
- (2) ☐ They don't care at all about Negroes.
- (3) ☐ They want to keep Negroes down.
- (4) ☐ I'm not sure how most white people feel about Negroes.

66. If someone refused to sell your parents a house they wanted very badly because he didn't like their religion, what should your parents do?
- (1) ☐ Go and buy a house where they are wanted
 - (2) ☐ Ask the government to make the man sell them the house
 - (3) ☐ Fight the man over it
 - (4) ☐ Nothing
67. The government should make sure that Mexican-Americans are not kept out of any jobs just because they are Mexican-Americans.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
68. A person should be willing to hear different opinions even if he doesn't agree with them.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
69. Our government is the best in the world.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
70. If white people won't let Negro families move into their neighborhoods,
- (1) ☐ The government should make the whites let the Negroes move in
 - (2) ☐ The government should stay out of it
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
71. If your teacher treated you unfairly, what would happen?
- (1) ☐ It would bother me and I would tell my teacher.
 - (2) ☐ It would bother me, but I wouldn't tell my teacher.
 - (3) ☐ It would not bother me.
72. If people don't have enough money, the government should pay their doctor bills.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree

73. What do you think about Negroes' using violence to get their rights?

- (1) ☐ It is never okay.
- (2) ☐ It is not okay, but there may be times when it is necessary.
- (3) ☐ It is okay, if something else they have tried has failed.
- (4) ☐ It is okay.

74. If the government makes a mistake, it shouldn't tell anybody about it.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (2) ☐ I disagree

75. Do you think Negroes have the same chance as white people to get a good job?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

76. If a Negro had the same education as a white person,

- (1) ☐ He would still have trouble getting a job.
- (2) ☐ He could get a job as easily as a white person.

77. The political parties do more to confuse issues than to clear them up.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

78. People who don't like the American way of life should still have a chance to talk and be heard.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

79. How do most people in the United States feel about Mexican-Americans?

- (1) ☐ They want to see Mexican-Americans have more than they do now.
- (2) ☐ They don't care at all about Mexican-Americans.
- (3) ☐ They want to keep Mexican-Americans down.
- (4) ☐ I'm not sure how most American people feel about Mexican-Americans.

IV. FOR QUESTIONS 80-85, MARK THE ONE BEST ANSWER.

80. What political party does Richard Nixon belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

81. What political party does Hubert Humphrey belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

82. What political party does Ronald Reagan belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

83. What political party does John Tunney belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

84. What political party does Ted Kennedy belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

85. What political party does Spiro Agnew belong to?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

V. FOR THIS NEXT PART, MARK THE ONE ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION THAT BEST SHOWS HOW YOU FEEL.

86. Which party do you think is more liberal?

- (1) ☐ Democratic Party
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ Republican Party

87. Which party do you think is more conservative?
- (1) ☐ Democratic Party
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ Republican Party
88. How do you think Mexican-Americans are treated in the United States?
- (1) ☐ the same as other people
 - (2) ☐ better than other people
 - (3) ☐ worse than other people
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
89. All the wars the United States has fought were good wars.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
90. Who do you think behave themselves better?
- (1) ☐ Negroes behave better
 - (2) ☐ Both are about the same
 - (3) ☐ Whites behave better
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
91. What the government does really isn't too important.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
92. If white people won't let Negro children go to schools with white children,
- (1) ☐ The government should stay out of it.
 - (2) ☐ The government should make white people let the Negro children in.
93. Once a man has been elected President, you should not say bad things about the things he does.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree

94. Do you think whites in this country are treated better than Negroes?
- (1) ☐ Whites are treated better.
 - (2) ☐ Whites are treated the same as Negroes.
 - (3) ☐ Whites are treated worse.
95. Do you think people would be better off if they just let the government do what it wants, without complaining about it?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ No
96. Do you think Negroes and whites should live in different parts of town?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I don't know
 - (2) ☐ No
97. The government should build a man a good house if he can't get one himself.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
98. What should children do if they don't like what their teachers are doing in school?
- (1) ☐ Nothing
 - (2) ☐ Tell their parents
 - (3) ☐ Talk to their teacher
 - (4) ☐ Talk to their friends
 - (5) ☐ Hold a protest rally
99. If a person breaks a law and is punished, should he complain if he thinks the law is unfair?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ No
100. What do you think about Mexican-Americans using violence to get their rights?
- (1) ☐ It is never okay.
 - (2) ☐ It is not okay, but there may be times when it is necessary.
 - (3) ☐ It is okay, if something else they have tried has failed.
 - (4) ☐ It is okay.

101. Do you think police treat all groups the same?

- (1) ☐ No, police treat some groups worse
- (2) ☐ Yes, police treat all groups the same
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

102. Should people who hate smog try to get their friends to vote for a really tough law against smog?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

VI. FOR THIS NEXT PART (QUESTIONS 103-109), ANSWER THE QUESTION: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS PERSON?

103. Ronald Reagan

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

104. Ted Kennedy

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

105. Richard Nixon

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

106. Cesar Chavez

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

107. Edmund Muskie

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

108. Ralph Nader

- (1) ☐ I like him
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike him
- (3) ☐ I don't know the man

109. Angela Davis

- (1) ☐ I like her
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I dislike her
- (3) ☐ I don't know who she is

110. How do you feel about the job the Republicans have been doing?

- (1) ☐ Like
- (2) ☐ No feeling
- (3) ☐ Dislike
- (4) ☐ Don't know who they are

111. How do you feel about the job the Democrats have been doing?

- (1) ☐ Like
- (2) ☐ No feeling
- (3) ☐ Dislike
- (4) ☐ Don't know who they are

112. Should the police arrest a person who puts an ad in the newspaper saying that America is bad?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

113. Who do you think are more honest, Negroes or whites?

- (1) ☐ Whites are more honest
- (2) ☐ Both are about the same
- (3) ☐ Negroes are more honest

114. When people don't have many friends, it is usually because they
- (1) ☐ Don't know how to get along with people
 - (2) ☐ Aren't very likeable
115. If a lot of people don't like a law, then the law should be changed.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
116. I would like to see the United States rule the whole world.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
117. How much do you care how Mexican-Americans are treated in this country?
- (1) ☐ I don't care at all
 - (2) ☐ I care a little
 - (3) ☐ I care a lot
118. Should a Communist be allowed to teach history in this school?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I don't know
 - (2) ☐ No
 - (3) ☐ I don't know what a Communist is
119. What white people want the government to do and what Negro people want the government to do are different things.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
120. How much do you care how Negroes are treated in this country?
- (1) ☐ I don't care at all
 - (2) ☐ I care a little
 - (3) ☐ I care a lot

121. How do you feel about the people who live in China?

- (1) ☐ I like them
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like them

122. How do you feel about the Communist Chinese government?

- (1) ☐ I like it
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like it

123. How do you feel about the Russian government?

- (1) ☐ I like it
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like it

124. How do you feel about the people who live in Russia?

- (1) ☐ I like them
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like them

125. How do you feel about the American people?

- (1) ☐ I like them
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like them

126. How do you feel about the American government?

- (1) ☐ I like it
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I don't like it

127. Things would be better if the political parties took opposite sides on issues more than they do.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

128. If a Communist wins an election for mayor, the people should not let him be mayor.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree
- (3) ☐ I don't know what a Communist is

129. How do you think Negroes are treated in America?

- (1) ☐ the same as whites
- (2) ☐ better than whites
- (3) ☐ worse than whites
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

130. (optional) Do you think of yourself as:

- (1) ☐ A Democrat
- (2) ☐ A Republican
- (3) ☐ Sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Republican
- (4) ☐ An Independent
- (5) ☐ I don't know what Democrat and Republican mean
- (0) ☐ I prefer not to answer this question

131. Should a person who doesn't like the American way of life be allowed to talk about his ideas with his friends?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

132. Some people say that Negro people would do better if they only voted for Negroes. Do you agree or disagree?

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

133. In arguments between grownups and children,

- (1) ☐ Grownups are almost always right
- (2) ☐ Grownups are right most of the time
- (3) ☐ Children are right as much as grownups are
- (4) ☐ Children are right most of the time
- (5) ☐ Children are almost always right

134. Should a Communist be allowed to put a commercial on TV saying America is bad?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No
- (3) ☐ I don't know what a Communist is

135. The government should:

- (1) ☐ Help poor people more than rich people.
- (2) ☐ Help everyone the same.
- (3) ☐ Help the rich people more than the poor.

136. Which political party do you think helps Negroes more?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Neither
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

137. Which political party do you think gets us into wars the most?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Neither
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

138. Which political party do you think helps poor people more?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Neither
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

139. Which political party do you think keeps us out of wars the most?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Neither
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

VII. HERE IS A LIST OF THINGS SOME PEOPLE HAVE DONE. MAKE AN X BY AS MANY THINGS AS YOU HAVE DONE.

140. ___ Worn a button for a candidate
141. ___ Talked with my parents about our country's problems
142. ___ Helped a candidate by doing things for him--such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them
143. ___ Talked with my friends about a candidate
144. ___ Read about a candidate in newspapers or magazines
145. ___ Talked with my parents about a candidate
146. ___ Wrote a letter to the President
147. ___ Watched the President on television
148. ___ Talked about the President in class
149. ___ Voted for United States President in an election in school

VIII. PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS. MARK THE ONE ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION THAT BEST TELLS HOW YOU FEEL.

150. What do you think about Communism?

- (1) ___ I think Communism is completely wrong.
- (2) ___ I think Communism is wrong, but I can understand why some people like it.
- (3) ___ I don't know what I think about Communism.
- (4) ___ I don't agree with Communism, but some of its ideas are good.
- (5) ___ I agree with Communism.
- (6) ___ I don't know what Communism is.

151. Do Mexican-Americans have too little to say in how the government is run?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

152. What should the U.S. do about Vietnam?

- (1) ☐ Keep doing what we are doing
- (2) ☐ Bring in more men and bombs so we can win, and win quickly
- (3) ☐ Take our men out of Vietnam, even if the Communists will take it over
- (8) ☐ I don't know

153. If many people think that a law is very unfair, what should be done?

- (1) ☐ Once laws are made, they should not be changed.
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ The law should be changed.

154. What poor people want the government to do and what rich people want the government to do are different things.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

155. There is no way to get rid of all the disagreements between people.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (2) ☐ I disagree

156. How do you feel about parents arguing in front of their children?

- (1) ☐ It doesn't bother me.
- (2) ☐ It is a bad idea.

157. Should a Communist be allowed to be an engineer in this city?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No
- (3) ☐ I don't know what a Communist is

158. We should not say bad things about laws made by people we have voted for.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
159. Why do people usually disagree?
- (1) ☐ Because they see things differently
 - (2) ☐ Because they don't know what they're talking about
160. Do you think people can be trusted?
- (1) ☐ Usually
 - (2) ☐ Sometimes
 - (3) ☐ Never
161. Some Negro leaders have suggested setting up a separate nation inside America run by Negro people only. Do you think this is a good idea?
- (1) ☐ Yes
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ No
162. What do you do when people say something about the government that you don't like?
- (1) ☐ I get angry but don't say anything.
 - (2) ☐ I get angry and say so.
 - (3) ☐ It doesn't bother me.
163. People do well mostly because of
- (1) ☐ Good luck.
 - (2) ☐ Hard work.
164. If a child fails a test, it is usually because
- (1) ☐ The test was unfair.
 - (2) ☐ He didn't study hard enough.
165. A person cannot have a fair trial unless he has a lawyer.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree

166. Should the government make a law that would help most Americans but hurt a few Americans?

- (1) ☐ Yes
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ No

167. How important do you think it is for grownups to belong to either the Republican or the Democratic Party?

- (1) ☐ Very important
(2) ☐ Important
(3) ☐ Not too important
(4) ☐ I don't know what parties are

168. Even after laws are made, people should be free to say bad things about them.

- (1) ☐ I agree
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ I disagree

169. Should the police arrest a person for telling his friends that America is bad?

- (1) ☐ Yes
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ No

170. Sometimes it is all right for the police to use force to make a man admit he broke a law.

- (1) ☐ I agree
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ I disagree

171. Sometimes rioting is the best way to make the government listen.

- (1) ☐ I agree
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ I disagree

172. Other countries should try to make their governments exactly like our government.

- (1) ☐ I agree
(8) ☐ I'm not sure
(2) ☐ I disagree

173. Arguments about what the government should do make it harder for me to make up my mind.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

174. Think about the other children in this class. What political party do most of them prefer?

- (1) ☐ Democratic
- (2) ☐ Republican
- (3) ☐ Sometimes Republican and sometimes Democrat
- (4) ☐ Independent
- (8) ☐ I don't know

175. Who do you think are smarter, Negroes or whites?

- (1) ☐ Both are about the same
- (2) ☐ Negroes are smarter
- (3) ☐ Whites are smarter
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure

176. How well I do depends mostly on

- (1) ☐ How lucky I am.
- (2) ☐ How hard I work.

177. Is it all right for a man to say on television that he disagrees with what the President is doing about Vietnam?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

178. If we didn't have a government,

- (1) ☐ Things in this country would be better.
- (2) ☐ Things in this country would be the same.
- (3) ☐ Things in this country would be worse.

179. What do you think about our government?

- (1) ☐ It almost never makes mistakes
- (2) ☐ It sometimes makes mistakes.
- (3) ☐ It often makes mistakes.
- (4) ☐ It usually makes mistakes.

180. If people tried hard to talk things over,

- (1) ☐ They could solve most of their problems without fighting.
- (2) ☐ There would still be a lot of fights.

181. People in our government would do better if they didn't argue so much.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (3) ☐ I disagree

182. It is okay for people to try to get their friends to vote for the same people they do.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

183. When deciding which candidate to vote for for President, the most important thing to consider is:

- (1) ☐ How smart he is
- (2) ☐ How honest he is
- (3) ☐ What party he belongs to
- (4) ☐ How friendly he is
- (5) ☐ How handsome he is
- (6) ☐ How good he is

184. How often do you think the President makes mistakes?

- (1) ☐ Often
- (2) ☐ Sometimes
- (3) ☐ Almost never
- (4) ☐ Never

185. The police sometimes start more trouble than they stop.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I disagree

186. Do you think policemen can be trusted?

- (1) ☐ Usually
- (2) ☐ Sometimes
- (3) ☐ Never

187. My favorite books and movies are about people like me.

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (2) ☐ No

188. If you or your parents wrote the President a letter:

- (1) ☐ He would care a lot about what you said
- (2) ☐ He would care a little
- (3) ☐ He wouldn't care at all

189. How much would a policeman want to help you if you were in trouble?

- (1) ☐ A lot
- (2) ☐ Some
- (3) ☐ A little
- (4) ☐ None

190. Should the police arrest a person who puts an ad in the newspaper saying America is bad?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ No

191. If the government doesn't have enough money, it is because:

- (1) ☐ People haven't paid enough taxes
- (2) ☐ The President hasn't been careful with the money
- (3) ☐ There are too many things to spend the money on

192. How much difference does it make which candidate wins an election?

- (1) ☐ It makes a big difference.
- (2) ☐ It makes a small difference.
- (3) ☐ It makes no difference.

193. How much different does it make which party wins an election?

- (1) ☐ It makes a big difference.
- (2) ☐ It makes a small difference.
- (3) ☐ It makes no difference.

194. To have a good government, which of these is more important?

- (1) ☐ Having good men leading it
- (2) ☐ Having good rules and laws

95. The Democrats and Republicans have ideas that are:
- (1) ☐ Almost the same.
 - (2) ☐ A little different.
 - (3) ☐ Very different.
96. When people vote, they're saying:
- (1) ☐ What they want the government to do.
 - (2) ☐ Which candidate they like better.
 - (3) ☐ What party they like better.
97. When I first meet someone:
- (1) ☐ I look to see what they're like.
 - (2) ☐ I look to see whether they are like me.
98. When two brothers are having an argument, their parents should
- (1) ☐ Just let them fight it out themselves.
 - (2) ☐ Try to stop the argument.
99. Our government knows what is best for other countries.
- (1) ☐ I agree
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ I disagree
00. Should children argue with grownups if they don't agree with what the grownup says?
- (1) ☐ It's all right to argue.
 - (2) ☐ They shouldn't argue
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
01. Do you think arguments between people in government make it hard to do what is best for the country?
- (1) ☐ No
 - (8) ☐ I'm not sure
 - (2) ☐ Yes

202. Children should do what grownups tell them to do without complaining.

- (1) ☐ I agree
- (8) ☐ I don't know
- (2) ☐ I disagree

203. It's better to do what a teacher says even if he's wrong.

- (1) ☐ I disagree
- (8) ☐ I'm not sure
- (2) ☐ I agree

IX. FOR QUESTIONS 182-184, MARK THE ONE BEST ANSWER.

204. Who ran against Nixon in the last Presidential election?

- (1) ☐ Eugene McCarthy
- (2) ☐ Hubert Humphrey
- (3) ☐ George McGovern
- (4) ☐ Lyndon Johnson
- (8) ☐ I don't know

205. Who is the Governor of California?

- (1) ☐ Ronald Reagan
- (2) ☐ John Tunney
- (3) ☐ Alan Cranston
- (4) ☐ Max Rafferty
- (5) ☐ Jess Unruh
- (8) ☐ I don't know

206. Who is the Vice President of the United States?

- (1) ☐ Nelson Rockefeller
- (2) ☐ George Murphy
- (3) ☐ Ted Kennedy
- (4) ☐ Spiro Agnew
- (8) ☐ I don't know

207. Does your family get the newspaper every day?

- (1) ☐ Yes
- (8) ☐ I don't know
- (2) ☐ No

208. Not counting the comics, how often do you read the newspaper?

- (1) ☐ Never
- (2) ☐ A few times a year
- (3) ☐ About once a week
- (4) ☐ Two to three times a week
- (5) ☐ Every day

209. How often do you listen to the news on radio or TV?

- (1) ☐ Never
- (2) ☐ A few times a year
- (3) ☐ About once a week
- (4) ☐ Two to three times a week
- (5) ☐ Every day